

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

A SPECIAL telegram to the *Natal Mercury* dated May 28, says:—At last night's meeting of Springs Town Council a communication was received from the Transvaal Municipal Association, asking whether the Council would be prepared to agree to pay a proportionate share of the costs of fighting Asiatic case in future. It was resolved, (says the correspondent), that the Council agree to pay a share in proportion to the European population, provided in every instance the Executive of the Municipal Association be consulted before any expenditure is incurred and further provided that all Municipalities who are members of the Association agree similarly.

We wonder whether these good people realize what they are doing. Is it not a fact that there are Indian ratepayers in those Transvaal towns? And is it not also a well-known fact that they have no Municipal vote? And yet, knowing all this the Transvaal Municipal Association coolly suggests to the various Municipalities that they should carry on a campaign against the Asiatic traders at the expense of the ratepayers.

We would liken them to highwaymen who first bind and gag their victims and then rob them. We venture to say that the Municipalities are not acting within their legal rights in thus extracting money from an Asiatic trader's pocket where with to fight a case against him. We hope that the British Indian Association will not allow this piece of impudence to go on unchallenged.

During the course of debate in the House of Assembly, Mr. Boydell is reported to have asked the Minister of the Interior (1) whether he is aware that information from Calcutta is to the effect that there is a record crop of rice now in India, and (2) will the Minister cause inquiries to be made as to available supplies of rice in India, and urge that the present embargo on the export of rice from India, now imposed by the Indian Government, be removed as far as the South African requirements are concerned.

In reply, the Minister said: (1) The answer is in the negative. In a recent telegraphic despatch received from the Viceroy of India it was stated that owing to the position of stocks and prices the Government of India have decided that the existing embargo must be maintained until the end of September. (2) Importers in the Union are obtaining as much rice as we can reasonably hope to get from Burma, and the Rice Commission had been asked to allot the majority of cargo now being loaded to Natal importers. In view of the reply to question No. 1, the Government does not contemplate taking any further action at present.

London, May 25.—The *Times of India*, Bombay, states that while not attempting to disguise the intense soreness of the Moslems with reference to the Turkish

Peace Treaty, in which many Hindus sympathise, thoughtful men are realising the danger of non-co-operation with the Government. One of the secretaries of the Khaliphate Committee has resigned on the ground that non-co-operation would be fatal for the Moslem community. It seems, says the paper, that there is a tendency not to precipitate the matter, but to await the formal conferences.—Reuter.

At the Annual Congress of the Natal Municipal Association, held at Estcourt last week, the only outstanding item (says a newspaper report) was in connection with the consolidation of the existing Laws and Ordinances. Important correspondence between the Provincial Administration was read, indicating that the matter was likely to be seriously tackled and finally disposed of at an early date. In this connection Mr. Bird was appointed by the Congress to prepare the Ordinance consolidating the laws.

Our readers will doubtless recognise in the above the "hardy annual" which we look forward to year by year. We wonder what disguise the measure to disenfranchise the Indian Municipal voter will take this time. Then there are the other questions such as segregation, reservation of tram cars, footpaths, etc., which have again and again appeared in the draft Consolidation Ordinances. But we shall have to wait for further developments and possess our souls in patience until the wise Man has completed his work as draughtsman.

A correspondent writes to the *Natal Mercury* and says, regarding the Asiatic Commission's recommendation for the repatriation of Indians, that the result will be that the financial resources of the Union will be used to reduce the supply of labour which is very much needed to develop the agricultural resources of the country. This, of course, is true; but you cannot have your cake and eat it. Those who are anxious to get rid of Indians must take the disadvantages along with the benefits.

The *Manchester Guardian* (states a Reuter telegram) says it is understood that Mr. Herbert Samuel has accepted the post of Chief Commissioner in Palestine. It is also stated the authorities in Palestine have appointed a new council for the community of Jerusalem, with a Moslem President and a Jew vice-president. The Council consists of two Jews, two Mahomedans and two Christians.

A mass meeting of the Indian community was held at the Hindu Temple, South Coast Junction, on May 24, in order to consider the steps to be taken in regard to Indian foodstuffs, which have been prohibited export from India. Mr. R. B. Chetty presided over a large gathering of Indians. The Chairman, in a lengthy speech, explained the hardships and sufferings inflicted on the poorer sections of the community, and suggested that prompt steps should be taken to remedy matters.

Mr. M. C. Naidoo, of Malvern, suggested that a delegation should be sent to the Ministry, and, if necessary, to the Viceroy of India, to place the matters before them, and on the motion of Mr. S. R. Pather it was decided to send Messrs P. S. Aiyar and M. C. Naidoo to interview the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance in the matter. It was also decided to appeal to Mr. J. X. Merriman, Sir Thos. Smartt, and Mr. Morris Alexander for all the assistance they can give.

VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION

THE Asiatic Inquiry Commission has quickly made up its mind on the need of provision being made for the return to India of those Indians who have not, as Mr. Andrews put in his pamphlet, "made good" in this country. From the evidence, given before the Commission, it has been shown that a large number of Indians were prepared to return to India if only facilities were provided. It is true that, under the Relief Act of 1914, the machinery exists for this purpose, but owing to the war causing a shortage of shipping, hundreds of Indians who were quite willing to go were prevented from doing so. We think the Commission has done wisely in making the recommendation it has. It does, however, seem rather extraordinary that the Commission should start off, by making a recommendation on a matter about which it professed to have nothing to do. A good many witnesses urged upon the Commission the advisability of adopting the policy of voluntary repatriation; and it was suggested that, in addition to the provision of free passages, they should be given a sum of money also. Probably more information on this important question would have been forthcoming if the Commissioners had been willing to listen. We recollect that when Mr. West, in giving evidence before the Commission, was referring to the lack of encouragement given by the Government to Indians to return under the Relief Act, Sir John Lange said: "All we have to deal with are the questions of licensing and land matters; we have nothing to do with this question of repatriation." It is, therefore, somewhat surprising to find the Commission making a strong recommendation on this matter its first business. However, we welcome such a step, and we think it will be a boon to those who are anxious to go but have hitherto been prevented from so doing. We note that the Commission recommends the appointment of an official (not connected with the Protector's Department) to organise the return of such Indians as are prepared to go. This is a frank admission that this Department is not fitted to give protection and assistance to Indians when it is a matter which detrimentally affects the employers. The recommendation that the returning Indians should be allowed to take with them their legitimate savings in gold and Jewellery is but right and fair. The embargo on the "export" of gold has prevented a large number from returning of late. It was a question of losing at least half, and in some cases the whole, of their savings; in the first instance by the exchange charges, and in the latter by confiscation by the Government. We have not hesitated to describe this as robbery, pure and simple. We are glad that the Commission agrees with us. Having done so well in its recommendations, the Commission might have added the gift of a sum of money to such persons leaving these shores. Surely Sir Abe

Bailey and the eighty thousand signatories to the monster anti-Asiatic petition would not mind a little extra taxation to meet this, and we feel that even Indian taxpayers would not grudge a trifle for such a worthy object. We hope, therefore, that the Government will vote an amount sufficient for this purpose. We must not forget that Mr. C. F. Andrews was the first person to realize the wisdom of adopting a policy of voluntary repatriation with compensation. It will be no credit to the Union Government if he has to urge upon the Government of India to vote money for the relief of those who leave this country after making it rich with their hard and poorly-paid toil.

THE INDIAN RIOTS

HUNTER COMMISSION'S REPORT

Simla, May 26.—The report of the Hunter Committee on the disturbances in the Punjab (says Reuter), consists of a majority report signed by the English members, and a minority report signed by the Indian members.

The report says that, except at Jallianwalabagh, and in several minor incidents, both the English and Indian members generally agree in justifying the police and military for firing on the mob.

They agree in pronouncing unfavourably on General Dyer's handling of the Jallianwalabagh meeting and certain of the martial law orders, and exonerate the Indian Government from all blame.

They differ regarding the nature of the disorders and wisdom of declaring martial law.

The English members emphatically state that open rebellion is the only suitable description of the disturbances, but the Indian members object to the term as implying an intention to turn out the British Government, which was not the intention of the rioters.

The English members consider that martial law was justified, and describe the outbreak at Armitisar as against the Government.

At every stage they criticise General Dyer's conduct at Jallianwalabagh on two grounds: (1) That he ordered the troops to fire without giving a warning; and (2) that he continued firing too long.

The Indian members stigmatise General Dyer's conduct as "inhuman" and "un-British."

The report is supplemented by a dispatch from the Indian Government, which considers that the order to fire showed a misconception of General Dyer's duty, resulting in the unnecessary loss of life. This judgment was communicated to the Commander-in-Chief in India, with a request to take appropriate action.

The Report accepts the view of the Administration that martial law was marred by the misuse of power; the irresponsible acts were due to inexperience, and says the Government should take steps to prevent any repetition.

Archbishop Kenealy, of Simla, in a letter to a London newspaper, emphatically justifies the action of the military authorities in India, and declares that if the present tendency to make a scapegoat of the white soldier succeeds, the military authorities in future will hesitate to act, and that hesitation will have consequences which no white man cares to contemplate.—

TRIBUTE TO SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER

The dispatch of the Indian Government to Mr. Montagu (Secretary of State for India) appended to the report of the Hunter Commission, pays a tribute to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieut. Governor of the Punjab, who has been the subject of great criticism, and also to other officers for their conduct in difficult circumstances.

The dispatch concluded by expressing great regret at the sufferings resulting from the disturbances, and with a solemn warning to the promoters of the civil disobedience movement which is calculated to lead to the overthrow of law and order, and was the chief cause of the outbreak.

The Indian Government further reported that the Commander-in-Chief in India directed General Dyer to resign his appointment as Brigadier, and informed him that he would not receive further employment in India. Mr. Montagu, while recognising General Dyer's honesty of purpose, approved of the decision.

Jallianwala Bagh, mentioned in the report of the Hunter Commission, is the meeting place in Amritsar, where the soldier fired on the demonstrators in April last year causing so great a sensation at the time.—

ASIATIC COMMISSION

INTERIM REPORT

VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION OF INDIANS

Capetown, May 27 (Reuter).—The Asiatic Inquiry Commission has presented an interim report to the Government, asking for it to be given urgent consideration. The interim report is as follows:—

"During the course of our inquiries strong evidence has been led before us, which tends to show that there is at present, owing to the shortage of rice and other causes, a considerable number of Indians who, with their families, would be prepared to return to India if opportunity were afforded them. We have also had evidence from an influential Calcutta merchant, at present on a visit to the Union, who until recently was chairman of the Central Employment and Labour Board under the Government of India, that at the present time, owing to industrial development, the labour supply in India is insufficient to meet the demands, and that good wages are being paid. The evidence on these points is confirmed by Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. G. L. Corbett, the official representative of the Indian Government.

"We, therefore, strongly recommend to your excellency that prompt steps be taken to provide the necessary shipping facilities, and to appoint an official well acquainted with the Indian mind and their methods, to act in a sympathetic manner, and to lay before the Indians the advantages of immediately returning to India.

"To main causes have hitherto militated against the return of many Indians, viz.: (1) The excessively long time they are kept at the Durban depot awaiting shipment, during which time they spend their available money in subsistence, and are consequently driven to re-entering employment to enable them to provide for their families and themselves; and (2) the fact that they are not allowed to take with them to India their earnings in the shape of gold and their jewellery.

"We, therefore, recommend immediate steps be taken (a) to appoint an official (not connected with the Protector's Department) to organise the return of such Indians as are prepared to go; (b) to provide frequent shipping facilities at short intervals; (c) to relax the restrictions on the export of gold in so far as necessary in order to allow returning Indians to take their legitimate savings and jewellery with them to India; (d) to make provision, where necessary, for enabling returning Indians and their families to reach their home after arrival in India.

"Evidence was given before the Commission that at a meeting held at Durban during March last of Indians employed by the South African Railways, 80 per cent. of those present expressed their wish to return to India, if assisted thereto. We consider that if action were taken by the Government in furtherance of this desire on the part of their own employes, it would become widely known amongst the Indians

wishing to return to India, and have a good result. We feel, too, that advantage should be taken of the presence of Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. Corbett, in whom the Indian community have the utmost confidence, and whose influence is consequently great, to obtain their assistance and advice in initiating the scheme which we have recommended."

PRESS COMMENTS

ON ASIATIC COMMISSION'S REPORT

The *Natal Advertiser* has the following leading article in its issue of the 1st instant:—

It is somewhat difficult to understand what prompted the Asiatic Inquiry Commission to issue an interim report urging the Government to give facilities for the voluntary repatriation of Indians now living in this country. The proposals the Commissioners put forward are, of course perfectly sound. It is very desirable that such Indians as want to return to their Motherland shall be allowed, if not actually encouraged to do so. We have urged this step many times in these columns. The Rev. C. F. Andrews, in the articles he wrote for the *Advertiser* during his recent stay in South Africa, said much the same thing. Whatever steps may be taken hereafter to solve the Asiatic problem, they must be preaced by a wholly amicable effort to meet the reasonable wishes of those who are only prevented from returning to India by lack of means.

But this does not explain how the Asiatic Commission came to present this interim report, or to make recommendations entirely outside the scope of their inquiry.

After giving the terms of reference of the Commission the article goes on to say:—None of these terms of reference has anything to do with the repatriation of Asiatics, nor was the Commission empowered to collect evidence on the question of the desirability of repatriating, voluntarily, or otherwise, the Indian population of the country. In the main, it is not a good thing that a Commission make recommendations outside the scope of their terms. By doing so, the impression is provoked that the Commissioners have "views" on the Asiatic question; and whether they have or have not, their prestige is not likely to be heightened by the issue of an urgency report that distinctly discloses the Commission's readiness to help the Asiatic out of South Africa, whether or not the latter is an asset to the economic life of the country.

We are constrained to voice this note of protest because already a number of people in our midst are feeling apprehensive that the Government, by acting on the Commission's recommendation, may send away from this country labour that is essential to its well-being. "The men we want out of the country," say these critics in alarm, "are the Arab traders, and not the peaceable, inoffensive, hard-working coolie." The protest is just the sort we have been waiting for. Over and over again it has been pointed out in these columns that the agitation in South Africa against the Asiatic is an agitation inspired wholly by the white trader against the brown trader. The ethics of civilisation have very little to do with the matter. The feud is not a blood feud. It is a shopkeeping one. Now that the Asiatic Commission suggests calmly a way by which the numbers of Asiatics in the country can be reduced, the note of alarm is being sounded; "You mustn't touch A: he is cheap coloured labour: but you ought to take B, because he is an underselling, shopkeeping parasite." Colour—the clash of civilisations—has apparently nothing to do with the case. We fancy that, if the Asiatic Commission continue along the lines they have so far followed, they will soon burn their fingers with the gentlemen who recently signed the monster anti-Asiatic petition that was presented to Parliament. For their souls' good

they will be better advised in sticking to the terms of reference submitted to them at the time they were appointed.

The *Rand Daily Mail*, (Johannesburg), comments thus on the subject:—

It probably came as a surprise to most people to hear that a number of Indians want to leave South Africa, but found obstacles placed in their way. Such, however, is the statement made by the Asiatic Inquiry Commission in an interim report. The investigations of the Commissioners showed that "a considerable number of Indians" and their families would willingly be repatriated "owing to the shortage of rice and other causes." It was added that 80 per cent. of the Indians employed on the railways wished to return to India. In January, 1919, there were 2,422 Indians in the employ of the South African Railways, so that apparently some eighteen hundred Indians from that source alone would like to get away. The Commissioners say that two main causes have "militated against the return of many Indians." One has been the excessive delay in Durban waiting for a ship, the time wasted being sometimes so long that the men spend all their money on food and lodging and have to start work again. The other has been the embargo on the export of gold, which prevents them taking their savings away with them in the shape of gold and jewellery.

The Commission urges the Government to take prompt action in overcoming the obstacles mentioned. Public opinion in this part of the Union at least will back up the recommendation. Every possible facility should be placed in the way of Indians who feel that they could do better in India than in South Africa. In fact the public on this side would be prepared to see the Government spend some money on providing cheap passages, or on helping Indians to reach their own districts from an Indian port. At the 1911 census there were found to be 141,791 Asiatics in the Union of whom roughly 86,000 were born in India and 63,000 in South Africa. Amongst the South African born Indians there is probably no strong desire to leave. Even if they speak an Indian tongue they do not know the country or its ways, and are regarded very much as strangers. In the case of the Indian born there may well be many who would like to go back. Probably they have not done as well financially as they expected to in this country, whilst they find that since they left wages have risen sharply in India and there is plenty of work to be had. The Union Government certainly ought to encourage the repatriation movement, and we shall be surprised indeed if it does not fall in at once with the suggestions of the Commission.

Thus the *Star* (Johannesburg):—

The interim report of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission may be commended specially to the notice of the "South African League" and other associations and individuals who are anxious to get rid of the Indian at all costs—even at the cost of good faith. They will be agreeably surprised to learn that large bodies of Indians are keen to return to their native land—pace the often intemperate allegations that Asiatics are flocking to the Union and digging their hands deep in the vitals of the country's trade. We hope these good people will also observe that the Indian finds difficulty in leaving our shores and that the Commission is anxious that facilities should be increased. Well, here is a capital chance for the anti-Asiatic party to prove its sincerity in what is generally the most convincing way. That is to say, if the Government is unable to expedite the departure of Indians desiring to betake themselves somewhat East of Suez, voluntary effort might well step in and show the problem to be solvable in terms of £ s. d. The relaxation of restriction on the export of gold is another matter, but here too the South African

League can show that it is sincere. For it should stand to reason that if the Indian is not to be permitted to invest in property, etc., in the Union, he should at least be permitted to take away with him the money he has legitimately saved. Opponents of the Indian are far too prone to protest alternately that the Indian is getting an economic grip on the country of his residence—and sometimes of his birth—by investing in property and that he is sending too great a part of his earnings overseas. To give immediate effect to the interim recommendations of the Commission seems to us a wise policy in the interests of all concerned.

ALL-INDIA HOME RULE LEAGUE

MR. GANDHI ELECTED PRESIDENT

Mr. M. K. Gandhi who has accepted the office of the President of the All-India Home Rule League, has addressed the following letter to the members of the League.

It is a distinct departure from the even tenour of my life for me to belong to an organisation that is purely and frankly political. But, after careful deliberation and consultation with friends, I have joined the All-India Home Rule League and accepted the office of its President. Some friends whom I consulted told me that I should not join any political organisation and that if I did, I would lose the position of splendid isolation I enjoy at present. I confess that this caution had considerable weight with me. At the same time I felt that if I was accepted by the League as I was I should be wrong in not identifying myself with an organisation that I could utilize for the advancement of causes in which I had specialised and the methods, which experience has shown me, are attended with quicker and better results than those that are usually adopted. Before joining the League I endeavoured to ascertain the opinion of those who were outside the Presidency and with whom I had not the privilege to come in such close contact as with co-workers in the Bombay Presidency. The causes referred to by me are Swadeshi, Hindu-Moslem Unity with special reference to Khilafat, the acceptance of Hindustani as the lingua franca and a linguistic redistribution of the provision. I would engage the League, if I can carry the members with me, in these activities so that they occupy the largest part of the nation's time and attention.

NO PARTY ORGANISATION

I freely confess that reforms take a secondary place in any scheme of national re-organisation. For I feel that the activities chosen by me if they could but absorb national energy would bring about all the reforms that the most ardent Extremist can ever desire, and so far as the desirability of getting full Self-Government at the earliest possible moment is concerned I yield to no one in my desire to hasten our progress and it is, because I feel that the progress towards Self-Government can be best accelerated by developing the activities I have mentioned that I keep them in the forefront of the national programme. I shall not treat the All-India Home Rule League as a party organisation in any sense of the term. I belong to no party and I wish to belong to none hereafter. I am aware that the constitution of the League requires it to help the Congress but I do not consider the Congress as a party organisation even as the British Parliament, though it contains all parties and has one party or other dominating it from time to time, is not a party organisation. I shall venture to hope that all parties will cherish the Congress as a national organisation providing a platform for all parties to appeal to the nation with a view to moulding its policy and I would endeavour so to mould the policy of the League as to make the Congress retain its non-party national character.

કે જે બરોબર બે કલાક ચાલ્યું હતું, તેમાં હિંદી વિદ્યાર્થીઓને સખત કહેણ કહેવામાં આવ્યું હતું અને સારની તે સાહેબ ગોરાની-પક્ષમાં બરાબા અને તેમના ટુંક દશ મહીનાના અમલમાં કમતીમાં કમતી ચાર એન્ડી-ઇન્ડીયન કામદારોનો જન્મ થયો !!! મજદુર સર એડવરડ ગયા નવેબર મહીનામાં ઇંગ્લેંડ કોલોનીયલ સેક્રેટરી સાથે પુર્વ આફ્રિકામાં વસ્તા હિંદીઓ વિશે ચર્ચા કરવા તથા તેમનું પુર્વ આફ્રિકા માટે ભવિષ્ય નક્કી કરવા ગયા. એક તો પોતે હિંદી વિરુદ્ધ વિચારવાળા અને પછી ઇંગ્લેંડમાં તેમને ઇકોનોમીક કમીશનના સહી કરનારમાંથી એક, કન્વેન્શન ઓફ એસોસીએશનના પ્રમુખ, અને હિંદુસ્તાનીનો કટામાં કટો વિરુદ્ધ મેજર ઇ. એસ. એગનની સહકારી મળશે. એટલે હિંદુસ્તાનીનું નસીબ કેવું ધડાશે તેનો ખ્યાલ આપ સહને કરવા ઇચ્છું છું. નામદાર લોરડ મીલનર ચાલુ માસની આખરે ઇંગ્લેંડ જશે અને ટુંક સુદમાં હિંદીઓનું નસીબ ધડશે.

ગઇ ઇમ્પીરીયલ લેજિસલેટીવ કાઉન્સિલમાં એમ કરાવ થયો હતો કે સર એન્જમીન રોબરટસન (કે જેમને હિંદી સરકારે પુર્વ આફ્રિકા જવા માટે કહેલું છે,) શું રીપોર્ટ લાં વસ્તા હિંદીઓની દુરંદા ઉપર કરે છે તે ઉપર પગલાં બરવામાં આવશે. મારે નામદાર હિંદી સરકારનો આભાર માનતાં કહેવું જોઇએ કે નામદાર સર એન્જમીનને લાંના હિંદુસ્તાનીઓ માટેનો રીપોર્ટ ઘડતાં અને મોકલતા કમતી માં કમતી બે એક મહીના થશે કે જે વખત દરમિયાન હિંદુસ્તાનીઓનું પુર્વ આફ્રિકા માટેનું નસીબ વિલાયતમાં ધડાશે અને એક વખત ફરી તે નક્કી થઇ જશે તો પછી તે વાતની ફરીથી ચર્ચા કરવી અને નસીબ ફરીથી ધડવું ઇચ્છું છું.

હવે વિલાયતમાં શું થશે તેનો વિચાર કરીએ. લોરડ મીલનર તથા સર એડવરડ ચર્ચા કરશે અને નામદાર હિંદી વજીર નામદાર વાઇસરોયના કહેવા પ્રમાણે હિંદીઓનો અચાવ કરશે. એટલે કે લોરડ મીલનર ન્યાયાધીશ તરીકે બેસશે (એમ ધારો) અને એક બાલુનો વડીલ સર એડવરડ ચર્ચા તથા બીજા બાલુનો વડીલ મી. મોન્ટેગ્યુ ચર્ચા. સર એડવરડની "શ્રીફ્ટ" સર્વ બાબતોના કાગળોથી બરાબલી હશે પણ મી. મોન્ટેગ્યુની શ્રીફ્ટ બી. ઇ. એ. ઇંડીયનોના. તા. ૨૨-૩-૧૯ ની ઇમ્પીરીયલ તથા થોડાંક કાગળોઆમાંથી બરપુર હશે. એટલે સર એડવરડના "આરગ્યુમેન્ટસ" આગળ મી. મોન્ટેગ્યુના "આરગ્યુમેન્ટસ" તુટી જ જશે અને ન્યાયાધીશ પોતાનું હુકમનામું ફરમાવશે. સર એડવરડ એમ પણ ખ્યાલ ધરાવે છે કે પુર્વ આફ્રિકામાં એક ટોળા છે તે જ લોકોમાં ઉસ્કેરણી કરે છે !

પુર્વ આફ્રિકાના હિંદીઓ માટે વખત કટોકટીનો છે તે ખ્યાનમાં લેતાં અને પુર્વ આફ્રિકાના હિંદીઓની દુગ્દશાનો "કેસ" બરોબર રજુ કરાવવા નીચેના કામો કરવા ખાસ જરૂરી છે અને મારી અરજ છે કે, અને આશા છે કે તમે પણ તેને ટેકા દેશો કે મુબઇના વસ્તા શહેરીઓની એક જાહેર સભા મુબઇના શેરીફ અને ઇમ્પીરીયલ ઇન્ડીયન સીટીઝનશીપ એસોસીએશન એકઠમ બોલાવે.

કામો

(૧) પુર્વ આફ્રિકામાં હિંદીઓ વિરુદ્ધ પાસ થયેલા સર્વ

કામદારો માટે તથા ઇકોનોમીક કમીશનના રીપોર્ટને માટે વિરોધ જાહેર કરવાને સાર.

(૨) પુર્વ આફ્રિકામાં વસ્તા હિંદીઓની દુગ્દશાને માટે જાહેર તપાસ કરવા માટે એક શાહી કમીશન નીમાવવા માટે નામદાર હિંદી સરકારને અરજ કરવાને સાર.

(૩) પુર્વ આફ્રિકામાં વસ્તા હિંદીઓને માટે ઇંગ્લેંડમાં જે હેલ્થો નીર્ણય ટુંક સમયમાં લોરડ મીલનર તથા મેજર જનરલ સર એડવરડ નોર્થી વચ્ચે આવવાનો છે તેને ન્યાં સુધી સરકારી શાહી કમીશન અમર તો એવી કોઇ સંસ્થા રીપોર્ટ ન દે લાં સુધી મુલતવી રાખવાને સાર, તથા,

(૪) મુબઇની નામદાર સરકારને, કે જે મુબઇ ઇલાકામાંથી લાં આગળ ધણા લોકો વસે છે, તેને માટે, તે લોકોની દુરદશા દુર કરવા માટે મદદ કરવાને અરજ કરવા સાર.

હું વિલાયત કેમ જઈ ?

મી. ગાંધી "નવજીવન" માં લખે છે :—
 "મારા દરેક કાર્યમાં કેટલાક વાંચનારાઓ એટલો બધો રસ લેવ છે કે તેઓની જાણસા હમેશાં હું તમ નથી કરી શકતો તેનું કારણ મારી બેદરકારી નહિ પણ મને બધાને ખુલાસો દેવાનો વખત નથી રહેતો અને દરેક પ્રશ્નો ખુલાસો નવજીવનમાં અપાય તેટલી જગ્યા હું રોકી ન શકું એ છે. છતાં કેટલીક બાબતો સાર્ગજનિક હોઇ તેનો ખુલાસો કરવો આવશ્યક ગણ્યું છું. એવો પ્રશ્ન મારા વિલાયત જવાની વાતનો છે.

હું કે જે હમેશાં આગેવાનોના વિલાયત જવાની સાથે ચનારો છું તે આ વેળા કેમ વિલાયત જવા તઇયાર થઇ ગયો એવી શકા કેટલાક વાંચનારાઓએ કરી છે. મારો અભિપ્રાય તેઓએ બરોબર જાણ્યો છે એટલે શકા બ્યાજબી છે. પણ મેં એવું કદી નથી માન્યું કે કોઇ પ્રસંગે કોઇથી વિલાયત ન જવાય. એવા પ્રસંગો હું કદપી શકું છું કે જ્યારે વિલાયત ન જવું એ ગુન્હો ગણાય. ખીલાફતના પ્રશ્નને વિષે મારા મનમાં કંઇ જ નથી. જવું જોઇએ એવું તો છે જ નહિ. પણ મારા જવાથી કદાચ ફાયદો થાય એમ સંભવે. તેથી મેં એ સવાલનો ફડચો કેવળ મુસલમાન ભાઇઓના હાર્થમાં જ રાખ્યો છે. તેઓની ઇચ્છા થાય તો હું જવા તઇયાર રહું. તેવી તેઓની ઇચ્છા થઇ લારે હું તઇયાર થયો ને બે શરતો મુકી. એક એ કે અહીં આપણી તઇયારી પુરી હોવી જોઇએ; અને બીજી એ કે નામદાર વાઇસરોયની પરવાનગી અને પસંદગી મળવી જોઇએ. વાઇસરોય સાહેબના પરવાનગી આવી ગઇ. માન જવાની યોગ્યતા વિષે તેઓ સાહેબને અભિપ્રાય આપવામાં સકાય થાય છે. તેથી વળી પાછો હું ખીલાફત કમીટી પાસે ગયો અને એવી રિચિતમાં મારે શું કરવું જોઇએ એનો ફડચો તેઓની જવાબદારી પર મુક્યો. તેઓમાં મતભેદ છે. એકંદરે અભિપ્રાય એવો પડ્યો કે દાલતો ન જવું જેથી વિલાયત જવું અટકાવી મુક્યું છે.

જવાનો હેતુ કેવળ ફડચો લાવવાનો જ નથી પણ જે ફડચો આપણી માગણીને અનુકુળ ન હોય તો હિંદુસ્તાનમાં શું થશે તેની ચેતવણી આપવાનો પણ ખરો. નોન-કોઓ પરેશન જેવી તેવી વસ્તુ નથી. એ જે બરોબર ચલાવી

શકાય તો તેની મારફતે સંપૂર્ણ ન્યાય મેળવી શકાય એટલે એવું ભારે શક્તિ વપરાય તેની પહેલાં સરકારને પુરેપુરી ચેતવણી આપવી એ હું જરૂરનું મણુ અને તેથી અનુકુળતા હોય તો એવી ચેતવણી આપવાને ખાતર વિધાયત જવાનું પસંદ કરું. પણ વાઈસરોય સાહેબની પસંદગી નહિ આવી અને હજુ આપણી તકરારી ઓછી છે તેથી મેં એમ માની લીધું કે મારે ન જવું એ વધારે સારું છે. તેમ છતાં જો સુસલમાન ભાઈઓની ધુન્ધા શાય અથવા તો મારું જવું એ સરકારને પ્રિય છે એમ હું જોઉં તો અવશ્ય જવાને વિચાર કરું.

ઓલ ઈંડિયા હોમરૂલ લીગ

પ્રમુખ તરીકે મી. ગાંધીની નીમણુક

“ઓલ ઈંડિયા હોમરૂલ લીગ”ના પ્રમુખ તરીકે મી. ગાંધીની પસંદગી થઇ છે તે ઉપરથી તેમણે એપ્રિલ તા. ૨૭ મીએ લીગના સર્વ સભાસદો ભેગ નીચેનો પત્ર પ્રસિદ્ધ રીતે લખ્યો હતો:—

શ્રેષ્ઠરથો, મારા જીવનના નિયમેથી ઉલટી રીતે એક નકરા રાજ્યદ્વારી મંડળ સાથે સંબંધ રાખવાનું કાર્ય તદ્દન ઉલટું છે, પણ મારા મિત્રો સાથે સંભાળપૂર્વક સુસલત ચક્ષુવ્યા પછી હું ‘ઓલ ઈંડિયા હોમરૂલ લીગ’ સાથે જોડાયો છું અને લીગને હોદ્દો મેં સ્વીકાર્યો છે. મારા કેટલાક મિત્રોએ અને આવા રાજ્યદ્વારી મંડળ સાથે નહિ જોડાવાની સલાહ આપી હતી, તેમ થવાથી હું હાલ મારું જે અલગપણ જાળવી રહ્યો છું તે ગુમારી બેસીશ એવું તેમણે જણાવ્યું હતું. આવી ચેતવણીએ અને ઘણો વિચારવંત બનાવ્યો હતો. તથાપી તેજ વખતે મને એમ પણ લાગ્યું કે હોમરૂલ લીગે પ્રમુખ સાથે જો મને જ પસંદ કર્યો છે અને તે લીગ મારફતે હું આપણા ઉદ્દેશો સફળ કરવા માટે જે જે રીત ગ્રહણ કરું છું અને જે વડે ખીજી રીતો કરતાં વધારે જલદી અને કાર્યસાધક પરિણામ આવે છે તે રીતો વાપરવાને આવા મંડળ સાથેનો વ્યવહાર ચાલુ ન રાખું તો સારી દૃષ્ટિ ગણાય. આ લીગ સાથે જોડાવા અગ.ઉ. મુખર્ષી ઇલાહાબાદી બહાર વસતા લીગના આગેવાનો (જેમની સાથે મુખર્ષીના આગેવાનો સહિત મેં કામ કરેલું છે) તે તેમજ ખીજાઓને અભિપ્રાય માગ્યો હતો. મેં જે પ્રત્નો ઉપરિચિત કર્યા હતા તે સ્વદેશી હિલચાલ, હિન્દુ-મુસલમાન અધિક્ય, ખલીફાત અને હિંદમાં ભાષા ચાલુ કરવા તથા ભાષાઓ પ્રમાણે પ્રતિની વહેંચણીને લગતા હતા. સભાસદો જો મારા મત સાથે સંચિત થાય તો દેશના આવશ્યક પ્રત્નોમાં લીગનું ધ્યાન કાયમને માટે રોકાયલું રહે.

અપેક્ષા મંડળ

સુધારાઓને હું પ્રથમ અગ્રસ નથી આપતો—એ મારે કબુલવું જોઈએ. જે જે હિલચાલ હું ચલાવું છું તે ઉપર પ્રથમ ધ્યાન અપાય તો તુરંત જોઈતા સંધળા સુધારાઓ થવા પામે એમ હું માનું છું. ઓલ ઈંડિયા હોમરૂલ લીગને હું કોઈ પણ પક્ષની નહિ બનવા દઉં. હું કોઈ પણ પક્ષને નથી. હવે પછી અમુક જ પક્ષને હું નહિ ચાઉં. લીગના કાનુનોમાં લીગે કોંગ્રેસને મદદ કરવાના કાનુનો દાખલ કરવા

પરશે; હું ક્ષીટીશ પાર્લામેન્ટની માફક કોંગ્રેસને એકસ પક્ષનું મંડળ ગણતો નથી. દરેક પક્ષ કોંગ્રેસને એકત્ર પ્રમુખીય મંડળ તરીકે ગણે અને જ્યાં દરેક પક્ષ હાજર રહી દેશની માગણી દર્શાવે એમ હું ઇચ્છુ છું.

કર્તવ્યનીતી

દેશના રાજકીય જીવનમાં સન્માધ અને પ્રામણીકતા દાખવ કરી શકાય એમ હું માનું છું અને લીગની પાસે કાયદાઓની અવગણના કરવાની મારી પદ્ધતિ અમલમાં મુકવાની હું વધી નથી રાખતો. આપણી તમામ હિલચાલોમાં સત્કર્મ અને તોફાનોથી ઉલટી રાજનીતીને દાખવ કરવાનો હું દરેક પ્રયત્ન કરીશ; ત્યારે જ આપણને સરકારનો કે તેના કાર્યોનો ડર કે ગેરવિશ્વાસ નહિ રહે. જે આ એકરાર મેં કર્યો છે. તેને અવલંબીને ઉપસ્થિત થતા પ્રત્નોનો પ્રસંગ પરત્વે નીચાંય થશે એમ હું માનું છું. મારી કરતવ્યનીતીનું ખરાપણ અને તેની આવશ્યકતા હમણાં લખી બતાવવા નથી ઇચ્છતો, પણ લીગના સભાસદોને મારા વિશ્વાસમાં લઈને અહીં દરવેલા કાર્યક્રમ માટે તેમનો મત જાણવાને અને લીગના હિત માટેની જે કંઈ મુચનાઓ તેઓ કરવા ઇચ્છતા હોય તો તે જાણવાને હું ઘણો ખુશી થઇશ.

હોદ્દોદારો

ઓલ ઈંડિયા હોમરૂલ લીગના ઓરીસ બેરોની ચુટણીનું પરિણામ નીચે પ્રમાણે પ્રસિદ્ધ થયું છે:—પ્રમુખ, મી. ગાંધી, ઉપ પ્રમુખો, મેસરસ હસન ઇમામ, એમ. એ. જીલા, પંડિત મેનીલાલ નહેરૂ, એન. મી. જીરઝી, એન. મી. રંગસ્વામી આયર તથા એન. મી. વી. નરસીંક આયર, સેક્રટરીઓ, મેસરસ ઉમર સોબાની, જોહારીલાલ તલ્હર, સી. સી. રામ ગોપાળાચારી આર અને ખમ્મનથી તરીકે મી. એલ આર. તેરસી છે.

એન્ડી એશીયાટીકનું જંગી પીટીશન

એન્ડી-એશીયાટીકનું ૮૦૪૩૩ સહીઓવાળું જંગી પીટીશન જે ટુક સુદત ઉપર સર જેબી જેલી તરફથી યુનીયનની આમની સભા સમક્ષ મુકવામાં આવ્યું હતું તે કેટલું પ્રતિનિધિરૂપ હતું તેના હેવાલ પ્રગટ કરવામાં આવ્યો છે. તેમાં જણાવવામાં આવે છે કે ઉપરોક્ત પીટીશન આમની સભામાં રજુ થયા બાદ સાઉથ આફ્રિકન્સ લીગને ખીજી હબર સહીઓ એ પીટીશનની તરફેણમાં મળી છે. એ પીટીશનમાં ઓહામાં ઓછી ૨૮ યુનીસીપાલીટીઓએ સહી કરી છે અને એ ઉપરનાં ૨૫ સાઉથ આફ્રિકન્સ લીગ ની શાખાઓ, ૬ વેપારીઓની એમ્બરો, ૫ ટ્રેડયુનીયનો, ૬ સ્કુલ બોર્ડો અને ૧૧ ફારમરસ એસોસીએશનો તરફથી સહીઓ થઇ છે ખીજા કુટક સહી કરનારાઓમાં ૩૩ પાર્લામેન્ટમાં ચુટાવાને ઉમેદવારો, અને ૨૭ પાદરીઓ હતા, અને ૧૦,૮૯૭ સહીઓ સામાન્ય ચુટણીને દેવસે રીફ અને પ્રોટીસ્ટાંટમાં આપવામાં આવી હતી.

ટ્રેડ યુનીયનો તરફથી ૫૦,૧૪૪ સાઉથ આફ્રિકન્સ લીગની શાખાઓ તરફથી ૧૧,૩૫૪ અને ૨૦૯ ડીસ્ટ્રીક્ટો અને સમ-ડીસ્ટ્રીક્ટોના એકુનો તરફથી ૨૪૦૯ અને ફારમરસોડર તરફથી ૧૩૧૭ સહીઓ અપાઇ હતી.

જે ૨૮ યુનીસીપાલીટીઓએ સહીઓ આપી છે તેમાં

THE METHODS

This brings me to my methods. I believe that it is possible to introduce uncompromising truth and honesty in the political life of the country, whilst I would not expect the League to follow me in my civil disobedience methods, I would strain every nerve to make truth and non-violence accepted in all our national activities. Then we shall cease to fear or distrust Government and their measures. I do not wish, however, to develop the theme any further, but I would rather let time solve the many questions that must arise from the bold statement I have here made. My purpose just now is not to demonstrate the propriety of my action or the truth of the policy herein adumbrated but to take the members of the League into my confidence and to invite their criticism of the programme herein set forth and any suggestion they may wish to make for the advancement and the welfare of the League.

THE ASIATIC QUESTION

ANALYSIS OF VITAL PROBLEM

(By C. F. ANDREWS)

VII

Great confusion of thought has arisen in South Africa from mixing up the "Segregation" argument with that of African native "Reserves" or "Territories." The "segregation" argument, starting from this point, is carried triumphantly to the conclusion, that, to segregate Indians in "locations" will be just as advantageous as the formation of African "reserves" has already proved to be. But the analogy is entirely fallacious, and the argument, therefore, is false. A "reserve" is a whole country—sometimes far larger than the British Isles—in which self-government, political as well as social, can be exercised without restraint. Race segregation, on the "location" principle, is the attempt to set up artificial barriers between man and man in the same country, among those living side by side. The policy of race-segregation with regard to the Indian is frankly and bluntly selfish. It is not concerned with any benefit to the Indian; it does not consider the Indian's feelings at all. It is simply the Ghetto policy of the Middle Ages revived, because of the racial dislike to the Indian, in South Africa, in the Twentieth Century. It is openly racial and openly selfish.

THE JEWS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Every reader who has studied carefully the historical writings of the Old Testament is cognisant that the Jews were originally an open-handed and generous-hearted people, whose hospitality was lavish in its kindness, and who cared little or nothing for material wealth and monetary gain, compared with the keeping of the high moral precepts of the Law. Life among the Hebrews was not narrow, but many-sided and full. They produced one of the greatest literatures in the world and were the originators of some of the world's noblest thoughts. Out of their midst come the long array of prophets of righteousness and mercy which ended in Christ Himself.

Yet this same Hebrew people, in the Middle Ages in Europe, when forced to live in locations, cut off from all healthy intermixture with the ruling race, when refused every right of citizenship, when banished from the Universities and Schools and compelled to live in ignorance, when forced to fawn and cringe, to flatter and bribe, in order to retain what slender protection was left to them, when shut out from every avenue of livelihood except those of money-lending and money-making—this same Hebrew people, who, before, had been so noble, became the type of that unloveable figure of Shylock, which Shakespeare has drawn in the "Merchant of Venice."

Not only did they thus become degraded themselves, on account of this inhuman segregation, but what is still more significant, they degraded the English race which persecuted them. We find everywhere increasing in the Middle Ages among the English those horrors of inflamed superstition and racial hate which were directly caused by this policy of segregation practised against the Jews.

THE CHANGE IN MODERN TIMES

It took our stubborn and unyielding Anglo-Saxon character five hundred years to bend the knee and confess to Nature that such things were against her laws. Before any such confession was made, all kinds of desperate measures were taken. Complete segregation was tried but this only led to a more rapid multiplication of the Jewish progeny. In the end, Nature had her own way. The Jews could not be banished, exterminated, or segregated. Their families were too prolific. Only when the whole Ghetto policy was reversed, and more humane methods were adopted, did this excessive Jewish birth-rate decline.

Nature was saying silently all the while. "You should try to understand." But only after centuries of extreme misery and humiliation was she allowed to have her way.

The old characteristics of the "Ghetto" period could not be obliterated in a day, and the Hebrew race in England has not even yet lost all the painful marks of the past. But, on the other hand, since the segregation policy has been changed to that of assimilation, the intellectual and spiritual genius of the Hebrew race has blossomed out afresh, in music and poetry, in art and religion. Their new gift to humanity has been incalculably precious.

THE INDIAN ANALOGY

The Indian in South Africa, especially in the Transvaal, has always been face to face with the danger of the "Ghetto," so great has been the prejudice against him. Had it not been for the liberal policy of Cecil Rhodes, which has dominated the Cape, and the prolonged suffering of the passive resistance struggle, under the leadership of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, race-segregation might have become long ago the order of the day. High statesmanship has saved the situation up till now.

Yet, even as matters stand, there has been a kind of personal racial segregation going on caused by personal European dislike. This is isolating the Indian more and more, and closing him round with an impalpable wall of race prejudice, built up against him. There is the ever-pressing danger, that this may, at any moment, become palpably fixed by racial legislation.

It is useless to charge Indians, in these circumstances, with being money-makers and profiteers. Like the Jews in the Middle Ages, they have been driven, more and more, into this one groove, and have been prevented from living the larger life of citizenship. They are outlanders and aliens and outcasts. What more is left open to them but to live and multiply and make money?

I have lived in India now for sixteen years—not in European houses, but among the Indian people themselves. I can assert, with absolute confidence, that this present absorption, among Indians here in South Africa, of all the faculties in money-making, is unnatural. It is as contrary to the Indian nature as it was contrary to that of the Jews of Medieval Europe. It has been forced upon them by the narrow circumstances in which they live, the narrow outlook on life, which alone is left open, and the narrow personal treatment, which is their daily experience. Like the Jewish race, the Indians themselves are highly gifted. Their intellectual power is of a first-rate order. Yet, in the circumstances in which their lives are now being passed, this nobler side of their nature has become pitifully stunted, while business tends more and more to occupy their thoughts.

(To be Continued)

ANALYSIS OF THE ANTI-ASIATIC PETITION

The monster petition praying for relief from the Asiatic menace, presented to the House of Assembly by Sir Abe Bailey, member for Krugersdorp, bore 85,433 signatures. Since the presentation of the petition and additional thousand signatures have reached the South Africans' League, the promoters of the petition. An analysis of the signatures reveals its very representative character.

The bodies signing in a corporate capacity included no fewer than 28 Municipalities, also 25 branches of the South Africans' League, six Chambers of Commerce, five trade unions, six School Boards, and 11 Farmers' Associations. Among the electors were 33 candidates for election to Parliament, 27 clergymen, and 10,897 signatures were given on the Reef and in Pretoria on the day of the general election.

Trade unions subscribed 50,144 signatures, South Africans' League branches 11,354, and farmers in 209 districts and sub-districts 7,134. Boksburg contributed 2,409 signatures, and Krugersdorp 1,317.

The subscribing Municipalities, 28 in number, are, with the single exception of Pretoria, very inclusive. They are: Johannesburg, Brakpan, Boksburg, Springs, Germiston, Roodepoort, Pietersburg, Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Amersfoort, Amsterdam, Raitur, Carolina, Ermelo, Christiana, Esburg, Louis Richardt, Lydenburg, Piet Retief, Rustenburg, Standerton, Middleburg, Ventersdorp, Vereeniging, Vlokruis, Wolmaranstad, and Zeeuws. The Chambers of Commerce represented in the petition are: Lydenburg, Ermelo, Ventersdorp, Krugersdorp, Standerton, and Middleburg.

The industrial workers are represented by the S.A.M.W.U., the South African Industrial Federation, and other Labour bodies.—*Natal Mercury*.

PRESS ACT IN INDIA

MR. GANDHI ON THE NEW ERA

Under the auspices of the Press Association of India a public meeting was held at Bombay with Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in the chair to ask for the repeal of the Press Act and the extension of amnesty to all presses and newspapers.

Mr. Gandhi moved the principal resolution which ran thus:—

"That this public meeting of the citizens of Bombay held under the auspices of the Press Association of India prays Government for the repeal of the Indian Press Act on the ground (1) the principle and policy of the Act are not only contrary to the spirit and tradition of the British, but as experience has proved increase the prejudice against Government making the remedy worse than the disease, (2) the repeal of the Act will further be in fulfillment of the policy of trust and co-operation inaugurated by His Majesty's gracious proclamation of December 1919 and (3) repeal will complete in a marked manner the liberal policy already adopted by Government by the removal of the restrictions imposed on certain newspapers under the Act. This public meeting also appeals to the sense of national duty of Indian journalists to rise to the occasion of the new era and realize fully that the era will throw on it greater responsibility than heretofore in inspiring all classes of people in India with the spirit of mutual co-operation, harmony and ordered progress, while fearlessly and with dignity upholding the people's cause and representing their wrongs and advancing the cause of constitutional freedom and Indian nationality."

Speaking in vernacular in support of the resolution Mr. Gandhi said that the repeal of the Press Act and the removal of the order against Mr. Horniman should go together. The Bombay public would not have

the repeal of the Act without Mr. Horniman's return. The speaker did not agree with all the views of Mr. Horniman. In his opinion the language Mr. Horniman used was suited to the west and not to the east, but he admired his work and did not wish to see his liberty taken away.

The resolution was seconded by M. R. Jayakar in an able speech and supported by Mr. C. S. Deole and carried.

On the motion of Mr. G. K. Doodhar the meeting next adopted a resolution conveying thanks to the Bombay Government for cancelling securities in the case of a majority of presses and newspapers and requesting that similar action might be taken in the few remaining cases of the kind.

Mr. K. Natrajan then moved a resolution requesting the Bombay Government to remove the restrictions in the way of Mr. B. G. Horniman's returning to India as a measure of justice in consonance with the terms of the Royal Proclamation.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Tayabji and carried.

It was resolved to forward the copies of the first and second resolutions to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and a copy of the third resolution to the Government of Bombay.

Mr. C. Mody, secretary of the Press Association, read at the meeting a number of messages of sympathy and support from among others Mr. Kasturiranga Iyenger, Mr. C. Vyayaraghachariar, Mr. Rangaswami Iyenger, Mr. Ramchand Chatterjee, Mr. Knaparde, Lala Jijpat Rai and Mr. Jinnab.

MR. GANDHI'S STATEMENT

SATYAGRAHA EXPLAINED

The following is the text of Mr. Gandhi's written statement presented to the Hunter Committee at Ahmedabad:—

For the past 30 years I have been preaching and practising Satyagraha. The principle of Satyagraha, as I know it to-day, constitute gradual evolution.

Satyagraha differs from passive resistance as North Pole from South. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining one's end, whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form.

The term Satyagraha was coined by me in South Africa to express the force that the Indians here used for full eight years, and it was coined in order to distinguish the movement then going on in the United Kingdom and South Africa under the name of passive resistance.

Its root meaning is holding on to truth, hence truth-force. I have also called it love-force or soul-force. In the application of Satyagraha, I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being imported in one's opponent, but that he must be won from error by patience and sympathy, for, which appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on one's self.

But on the political field the struggle on behalf of the people mostly consists in opposing error in the shape of unjust laws. When you have failed to bring error home to the law-giver by way of petitions and the like, the only remedy open to you, if you do wish to submit to error, is to compel him by physical force to yield to you or by suffering in your own person by inviting the penalty for the breach of the law. Hence Satyagraha largely appeals to the public as civil disobedience or civil resistance. It is civil in the sense

that it is not criminal. The law-breaker breaks the law surreptitiously and tries to avoid the penalty; not so the civil resister. He evidently obeys the laws of the State to which he belongs not out of fear of the sanctions, but because he considers them to be good for the welfare of society. But there come occasions, generally rare, when he considers certain laws to be so unjust as to render obedience to them a dishonour. He then openly and civilly breaks them and quietly suffers the penalty of their breach. And in order to register his protest against the action of the law-givers it is open to him to withdraw his co-operation from the State by disobeying such other laws whose breach does not involve moral turpitude.

In my opinion, the beauty and efficacy of Satyagraha are so great and the doctrine so simple that it can be preached even to children. It was preached by me to thousands of men, women and boys commonly called indentured Indians with excellent results.

ROWLATT BILLS

When the Rowlatt Bills were published I felt that they were so restrictive of human liberty that they must be resisted to the utmost. I observed, too, that the opposition to them was universal among Indians. I submit that no State, however despotic, has right to enact laws which are repugnant to the whole body of the people, much less a government guided by constitutional usage and precedent, such as the Indian Government. I felt, too, that the oncoming agitation needed a definite direction if it was neither to collapse nor to run into violent channels.

I ventured therefore to present Satyagraha to the country, emphasising its civil resistance aspect. And as it is purely an inward and purifying tonic I suggested the observance of fast, prayer and suspension of all work for one day, April 6. There was a magnificent response throughout the length and breadth of India, even in little villages, although there was no organisation and no great previous preparation. The idea was given to the public as soon as it was conceived. On April 6 there was no violence used by the people and no collision with the police worth naming. The hartal was purely voluntary and spontaneous. I attach hereto the letter in which the idea was announced.

THE "ARREST."

The observance of April 6 was to be followed by civil disobedience. For the purpose the Committee of the Satyagraha Sabha had selected certain laws for disobedience. And we commenced the distribution of prohibited literature of a perfectly healthy type, e. g., a pamphlet written by me on Home Rule, a translation of Ruskin's "Unto this Last," and "Defence and Death of Socrates."

But there is no doubt that April 6 found India vitalised as never before. The people who were fear-stricken ceased to fear authority. Moreover, hitherto the masses had lain inert. The leaders had not really acted upon them. They were undisciplined. They had found a new force, but they did not know what it was and how to use it.

At Delhi the leaders found it difficult to restrain the very large number of people who had remained unmoved before. At Amritsar Mr. Satyapal was anxious that I should go there and show to the people the peaceful nature of Satyagrah. Swami Shradhdhanandji from Delhi and Dr. Satyapal from Amritsar wrote to me asking me to go to their respective places for pacifying the people and for explaining to them the nature of Satyagraha. I had never been to Amritsar, and for that matter to the Punjab, before. These two messages were seen by the authorities and they knew that I was invited to both the places for peaceful purposes.

I left Bombay for Delhi and the Punjab on April 8 and had telegraphed to Dr. Satyapal, whom I had never met before, to meet me at Delhi. But after passing Muttra I was served with an order prohibiting me from entering the province of Delhi. I felt that I was

bound to disregard this order, and I proceeded on my journey. At Palwal I was served with an order prohibiting me from entering the Punjab and confine me to the Bombay Presidency. And I was arrested by a party of police and taken off the train at that station. The Superintendent of the Police who arrested me acted with every courtesy. I was taken to Muttra by the first available train and thence by goods train early in the morning to Siwai Madhupur, where I joined the Bombay mail from Peshawar and was taken charge of by Superintendent Bowring. I was discharged at Bombay on April 10.

But the people at Ahmedabad and Viramgaum and in Gujerat generally had heard of my arrest. They became furious, shops were closed, crowds gathered, and murder, arson, pillage, wire-cutting, and attempt at derailment followed.—("Times of India.")

BOOKS FOR SALE

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